252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are particularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun. Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.

272 484 [252] 262

231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle; it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
302 food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi
[262] eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororó, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
272 cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the
262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding. Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely. Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen. Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed. The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26, p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins, guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten
252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely.
439 Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy
431 only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the trader.

439 According to all experience it is impossible to export live cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly, and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
231 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist
776 between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[742] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

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181 other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be
554 considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the
polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently
556 we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and rela-
564 tionships in which sanctions are implied.

The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely con-
181 nected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly
554 respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and
233 cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-
564 value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain
the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk
[272] is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-
beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was con-
sidered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone.
As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an impor-
tant herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover,
cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-
[538] breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was
devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beauti-
ful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they
had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were
presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were
objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those
associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or
luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just
as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property.
Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or
goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and
emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-
value is readily understandable.

The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi
181 is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A
554 family has property which is handed on from one generation to another,
common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a
564 living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background
one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to
the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be
maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property
will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This
not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and
their esteem for the father is enhanced.

Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the
181 respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi
554 seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous.
564 They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

Their Food is Varied

262 It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate
[241] a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain
[263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/,
● [272] who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/
[273] frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

263 The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824]

1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place
258 of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from
263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824]

1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba...," pronounced in a virile tone, recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye...."

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i..." to recall that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

192

198	Umumkari	Umugore	Woman
	Umwere wa giti	Umwana	Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824]
[234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 [415] 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 293 412 778 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for

234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as
272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following

[524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of
[539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the

[687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow

237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. The milk 272 is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes [846] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

000 hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda
[273] life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out
[413] the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In
[435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price was two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisherfolk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

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It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.